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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

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RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. PEPPER'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

## SOUTH VIETNAM ELECTIONS

(Mrs. MINK (at the request of Mr. GRIDER) was granted permission to extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to note that Secretary Dean Rusk has reinforced this Nation's determination to abide by the principle of self-determination with respect to the forthcoming elections in South Vietnam, despite the ambiguous reported statements of Prime Minister Ky which his own colleagues found necessary to censor.

After the optimistic declarations of the Honolulu Conference in February about the intentions of the South Vietnamese Government to implement reforms and free elections as early as possible, we have witnessed accelerated plans to prepare for those elections this fall after the people of Vietnam took to the streets themselves to demand a democratic form of government.

Skeptics are pointing out that the Vietnamese have never experienced free elections, and therefore cannot be trusted to make a rapid transition to popular government.

If we are ever to know the true will of these people, we must do everything we can to insure that the elections are held and that the results will be uncontested, regardless of the outcome.

Those who agitate for these elections ask only for a hand in the destiny of their country, and since that is the professed reason for our presence in Vietnam, I believe that we must now insure that the voices of all interests will be heard in the conduct of that country's affairs.

With Secretary Rusk's assurances that we will indeed honor our commitment to self-determination for South Vietnam, it now becomes incumbent upon us not to leave open the possibility of later charges that the elections were not in fact free.

Excessive caution in this matter is further dictated by Premier Ky's reported statement that if the elections do not have results desirable to the present regime, then the Directorate will fight. This must be regarded as a real danger sign and steps must be taken now to insure the absolute validity of these elections. The closest surveillance is absolutely basic.

But, I think it wholly unrealistic for us to place ourselves in the untenable position of being the sole third-party monitor of these elections. Although our foreign policy leaders insist that we will abide by the wishes of the people of South Vietnam regardless of the outcome, there looms of course the qualification that the election be truly free and expressive of the will of the people of that wartorn nation. It is therefore, in my opinion, unwise for us to assume by ourselves this responsibility as the judge and jury of weighing the quality of these elections.

I therefore join the distinguished Senator from Connecticut in urging that the President most seriously consider the proposal that either the United Nations or the International Control Commission be called in to maintain a field surveillance of these elections, and thereby relieve this country of the untenable task of being the guarantor of the outcome. If our commitment truly is to freedom in southeast Asia, then we have a solemn obligation to implement the conditions for that freedom. We owe the world, the Vietnamese people, and ourselves no less.

## SOME NOTES ON THE GREAT EMANCIPATOR

(Mr. OTTINGER (at the request of Mr. GRIDER) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I am always pleased to bring to the attention of this distinguished body an outstanding accomplishment of or work by one of my constituents. Today, I am particularly pleased to present, for our colleagues' consideration, an article written by one of my constituents and good friends—Rabbi Martin M. Weitz. This article, which appeared in the American Examiner, is based on an address which Rabbi Weitz delivered before a convocation at Lincoln University.

Although Abraham Lincoln's tragic death occurred more than a century ago, his impact on the world has not diminished. The ideals and values which Lincoln expounded are still with us today. As Dr. Weitz so correctly states:

Lincoln's soul is not at rest. His spirit walks through the land.

Rabbi Weitz makes us aware of this as he dwells on some of the little-known or forgotten aspects of Lincoln's life and personality.

Dr. Weitz is the author of five books and has served as rabbi to congregations in Wisconsin, Iowa, Arkansas, New Jersey, and New York. At present, he is the director of religious affairs for the Jewish board of guardians at the Hawthorne, N.Y., Cedar Knolls, and Linden Hill Schools.

It is with great pleasure, Mr. Speaker, that I present herewith for inclusion in the RECORD, Rabbi Weitz' moving article "A Century of the Lincoln Saga":

## A CENTURY OF THE LINCOLN SAGA

(By Dr. Martin M. Weitz)

Abraham Lincoln is magic for millions across the "lost horizon." He disarmed more enemies by his death than his generals won in disputed battle. That was the strange alchemy that bound his country and made him one of the world's elect, simple-hearted, strong-minded symbol of America—free from geography and genealogy. His life is as a fond refrain for all of us, except when we rephrase our memories and rebuild our images that people the past. Abraham Lincoln was born in 1809, in Kentucky, to Nancy Hanks and Tom Lincoln. The family moved in 1817 to Indiana, where it built a new log house in which his mother, Nancy Hanks, died at the age of 35, and where his stepmother indeed became a mother for the rest of his life. But the frontier beckoned on, and in 1830, with four ox carts heavily laden with provision, many books, including the

Bible, yet enfolded with a loving heart, the family moved on to Illinois.

History may be lost, stolen, or forged, but the biography of a great man is ever the spiritual autobiography of a great era. To gain perspective on the significance of the Lincoln saga we might recall that the Bible comprises a rollcall of approximately 926,000 words, that all of Shakespeare's works muster a total vocabulary of over 975,000 words, while the Sandburg saga alone, on Lincoln, claims over 1,026,000 words. This gives us a dimension of how one life may affect all lives, even though it is not quite a century and a half in the fullness and fruition of an incomplete life he shared with fellow man.

COLLECTION OPENED ON JULY 26, 1926

Greatest of all modern barometers on the Lincoln life and legend, is a microfilm collection with 20,000 documents in 194 volumes that as permitted for research and revelation by Robert Todd Lincoln, to be opened for the public 21 years after his death. This surviving son of Abraham Lincoln died July 26, 1926, and 1 minute after midnight, the entire collection was opened from the past for the present and the future. This collection was presented by Lincoln's son to the Library of Congress in 1925.

At that time this great treasury of Lincolniana had experts in all fields of this subject study its contents, and explain them to the world. Dr. Luther Evans, then Librarian for Congress, Randall Monaghan, State historian for Illinois, Paul Engle, of the Chicago Historical Society, as well as Carl Sandburg, were among the 200 visitors present who were scholars of the "Lincoln Life and Legend."

Disclosures were manifold, and it is important for us to know them, for it helps us appreciate even more the difficulties and the complexities from which Lincoln emerged, unsullied even in death, as well as life \* \* \* From this collection and other related materials, we learn that throughout the Civil War, Lincoln was plagued with over 80 death threats and attempts at assassination. We discover that the war was hampered and tampered with by complaint about the drunkenness of Gen. U. S. Grant, and that Lincoln even had a special pigeonhole in his desk for these many complaints, that "petticoat politics" of the wives of the generals was really a roadblock for the war effort, that the petty conflicts between the Army and Navy in the form of certain memos found their way to Lincoln's desk under another pigeonhole entitled "Mars Versus Neptune." We learn also that many were refused promotions—often bluntly—by Lincoln, in specific instances and that the scramble for political patronage was incessant and exhausting.

## WERE ROBERT'S LETTERS "LIFTED"?

This collection reveals also that there was the threat of a duel with a James Shields in 1842, in Alton, Ill., and that thereafter Lincoln and Shields became fast friends when the slight misunderstanding was clarified. The collection includes letters about the half-sister of Lincoln's wife, who lived at the White House, whose husband was a Confederate general but who often got a pass to go to Kentucky to claim property even though she refused to take an oath of loyalty to the Union. This collection informs us of military strategy proposed by Lincoln but rejected by McClelland. There are no letters, we find, of Robert Lincoln to his father (for they may have been "lifted" from the collection previously). Some of these items may have been available for the 10-volume history of Lincoln in 1890 by Nicolay and Hay, but access to the series was refused to Beveridge, especially when it seemed he asked unnecessary questions regarding the birth of Abraham Lincoln.

Mysteries are still unsolved for approximately 11 letters from Robert D. Owen, 20 from William C. Bryant, 44 from Horace Gree-

ley, 11 from a Roman Catholic archbishop, and an Anglican bishop are still missing, because these letters are known to have been a part of the collection decades ago. Perhaps someone in the family wanted such letters burned, a policy often resorted to by statesmen or members of their families, as was accomplished a century ago by Judah P. Benjamin of the Confederacy, before he left for England, or more recently in our times, former Vice President Garner from Texas.

This collection helps us understand that there were possibly five events, each an accident, which helped escalate into a ladder to the Presidency itself. First was an invitation to Abraham Lincoln to present an address in New York City for which he was offered a fee of \$200 during the fall of 1859. We learn from the collection that Lincoln earned approximately \$3,000 a year, that he was below the stature of Seward and Chase at that time, but that a great response was accorded him when 1,500 people came to Cooper Union in New York City and paid 25 cents per person to hear him.

Second "incident" seems to be the failure of a certain young man at Harvard, named Robert Todd Lincoln. The trip to New York City was in a way an event to cheer up his son on his failure at Harvard, as well as to seek his admission to Exeter School. This also permitted Lincoln to accept a few more invitations for speaking engagements en route to and from Boston.

Third "event" was a drama by a politician named Ogleby in Decatur, Ill., who brought the State Republican Convention to Decatur, and who, with John Hanks, dramatized Lincoln as the "rallsplitter." Fourth, was the failure of a printer to keep his promise for tally sheets by 9 p.m., and thus permitted the convention to adjourn to 10 a.m. the next morning and—fifth "event"—provided a midnight political transformation in all of the hotels with delegates so that the drive for Seward gave way to Lincoln, and about midnight, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Ohio delegates shifted to the Lincoln column \* \* \* and changed the history of man.

#### LINCOLN'S TRIBUTE TO JOHNNY KUNGAPOD

We learn from this collection that Abraham Lincoln had major consideration throughout his life for all peoples who were part of life. We know the indignation that seared his heart when he beheld an auction-block in human flesh in New Orleans, when black flesh was bartered and sold by seemingly respectable and honorable people in the full light of day. We know that he had a tender concern not only for the Negro, but for the Indian, for when a chief-tain departed this life, it was Lincoln's sad mission of mercy to speak his sentiments for all. These words are ascribed to Abraham Lincoln in tribute to the departed Indian chief:

"Here lies poor Johnny Kungapod.  
Have mercy on him gracious God,  
As if he would do it he were God  
And you were only Johnny Kungapod."

This collection and other series reveal Lincoln's sagacity and humanity for other minorities. We know of his withdrawal of infamous "Orders No. 11" which referred to Jew of Kentucky in most uncomplimentary terminology by General Grant, and that he even appointed a Jew named Guttmann as American consul in Switzerland to emphasize American respect for all identities at a time when Swiss cantons practiced official anti-Semitism.

#### THREEFOLD BENEDICTION

Warren Wheelock, in 1915, whittled out masterpieces in wood of Abraham Lincoln. They were miniatures in size, but of spiritual stature beyond any dimension. One was the Intellectual Lincoln; another the Meditative Lincoln; and a third of the Tragical Lincoln;

and we were to survey his saga in terms of the collection which affords new insight and provides new outlook, we should summarize and simplify his life pattern as a threefold benediction.

First of these, in honor of the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. The Lincoln that lived in the America of the 1860's was indeed a counselor at law. He entered the Illinois bar, March 1, 1837. He practiced in Illinois 23 years, and extended that legal practice beyond 4 years in the White House. His early confreres were Stuart and Herndon. We know his legal practice through thousands of documents that have come to light throughout the century from libraries by the score, offices by the hundreds, and homes by the thousands. Throughout this correspondence, we sense half the presence of Abraham Lincoln, and the many appealing qualities which reveal countless clients of all kinds, many types, and involving a variety of laws.

His approach as a trial lawyer, from these and similar records, was calm, logical, and intelligent. His practice brought him to every corner of Illinois, its people, and their problems. Throughout this legal life he revealed a power of great intellect, infinite tolerance, and a most gentle and generous heart.

From all these assorted records which I discussed here last week it is obvious that Abraham Lincoln's preparation was thorough and compact, that he did get books and study them carefully, whether Blackstone's "Commentaries," Greenleaf's "Evidence," or Story's "Equality." He did interpret these and other basic legal works for the pioneer conditions he found, with pains for first principles and allowable changes for progress as applicable in cases in court. He also steeped himself in a thorough knowledge of each case, and would have no use for notes or even books when in action, in order to be completely free of the burden of uncertainty and to know fully and freely even all possible avenues to an opponent. Yet, he would always be fair to that opponent, and would preface his own case with a statement, in all fairness, of the other side prior to presentation of his own case, organized in compact simplicity.

He had a thorough knowledge of law, the lives of his people, and this served as a thread in the fabric into which he wove his homely imagery, scholarly citation, and dependence on impeccable honesty. Witness the Terney case, which involved a swindle by a pension agent, and for which he received no fee, once when he made clear his stance: "Gentlemen," he began, "I depended on this witness to clear my client. I now ask that no attention be paid his testimony. Let his words be stricken out. If my case fails I do not wish to win it by a falsehood." His frankness, followed by a magnificent summary of the merits of the case, brought a verdict of acquittal.

Second great facet of Lincoln in our commemorative profile is "Lincoln—the Storyteller." Many are the witnesses from all sources who relate this facet of the Lincoln saga with greatest affection and profoundest admiration. There is the ride with Swett, who recalls the childhood stories, the conversations with Judds, who remembers porch-talk and through it how Lincoln seemed as a man devoted to the far things, a man for the days to come \* \* \* how he glowed with the suns beyond our sun, and who generated belief that with men all things are possible.

#### GALLANT NAIVETE

Even incidents at home portray him with nonchalant yet gallant naivete, as when his wife told him: "You are a very bright man," after he had come in from the rain and deposited his coat on her just starched gowns which she placed on the bannister. When poor Abe asked, "What have I done now?" she answered promptly, "Your wet coat is on

my starched gowns." Then her and our Abe in simplicity said, "Don't be cross, dear. First I will hang up my coat, and then I will even hang your gowns over it."

One incident tells how a boy knocked off Lincoln's large hat, which incidentally served as his office, and scattered all the papers around the area. After these papers fell, Lincoln patiently picked all of them up, and without a further word, the boys clambered all over him, for they knew his arms would embrace them all.

A sharper incident is from Debates with Douglas, when Lincoln said of him, but with the naivete of human nature: "He has tens of thousands of blind followers, and it is my business to make them see."

Typically, his humor, even in hotels in his tours to the different courts of the area, enabled him to enlarge his gastronomic horizon without too much worry for health. When first served ice cream, he remarked: "Say, waiter, I do not want to slander this hotel, but it appears that this pudding has frozen." Another time in a different setting, he simply said to the waiter: "If this be tea, please give me coffee; if this be coffee, please give me tea."

The day's mail, especially during the Presidency, would call him "buffoon," "monster," "idiot," and other likely and unlikely epithets, but among the hundreds he was accorded, he liked best—for they provided him with a hearty laugh or two—the "accusations" of "Deformed Sir" and "Ugly Cub." He even liked Joe Miller's jests, for only a Lincoln could like them even though they were so "corny." Part of his storytelling that gave him visage and image for the ages is his word-weary remark after he was defeated for the Senate by Douglas "How do you feel?" a confidante asked. His simple, sad and yet generous response: "Too badly to laugh, to big to cry \* \* \*." This word of wisdom was quoted by Adlai Stevenson at La Lincoln in Springfield, Ill., when he was defeated by Eisenhower.

#### THIRD DIMENSION

Third dimension of the Lincoln Saga was "Lincoln—the Man Alone \* \* \*." Living witnesses beheld him thus in his spiritual splendor on days they saw him. A Stuart said: "I saw Lincoln sitting around alone in a corner of the bar, remote, wrapped in abstraction and gloom. He seemed to be pursuing some painful subject and his sad face would assume, at times, the deeper phases of grief \* \* \*." Harken to a Whitney: "He had no system or method. He preserved a memo by throwing it in his hat. All was anarchy outside his mind but within it all was symmetry. His mind was his workshop \* \* \*." Listen to a Birch: "His chair was against the wall for hours while his feet were drawn up and knees and chair were level. His hat tipped to shield his face. His eyes were sad with no merriment. His hands were clasped. No one could break this spell with speech, for it was a barrier none could enter \* \* \*." Listen to a conductor on an Alton train: "Lincoln was such good company but we could not make him out. I would often see a dreadful loneliness—he was thinking alone. He never frightened you, but something about him made us plain folks feel as a child does to his father."

Many comments from these and other sources, from Sandburg and other Lincoln artists, would try to define him as he walked with a long, easy stride, with a sober face, deepened with soft melancholy, while his eyes seemed to say: "I shall never be glad again." All of the artists, of words or in stone, portray him as a tall, gaunt personality, with a peculiar slouch, an easy saunter, so bony, so sad, as a strange friend and friendly stranger, for everybody knew him and yet nobody knew him, for he was indeed the "Laughing Lincoln" and yet the great, sad man.